PEACE NEWS
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Our fate is in the hands of mental patients
ALEX COMFORT *Page 4*

DISARM—AND SHOW THE WORLD

BY LORD DARWEN

"ANNIHILATION or enslavement" is the grim choice our leaders propose to themselves faced with a world in which mass destruction is the final arbiter in international disputes.

For those of us who must try to obey the commandment to "love one another" and who believe that the commandment is not confined to people of our own race, creed or persuasion, the choice is different. It is: follow Christ or crucify Him anew.

The material consequences of our obedience are not for us to weigh.

The gulf between Communism and Western Democracy is no greater than the gulf between these two viewpoints. But since it is our hope that a bridge may be built between the two ideologies, whereby the adherents of each can live in peace, it must also be our hope that pacifists and non-pacifists can find enough common ground to devise a mutually acceptable means of averting the destruction of our civilisation.

However insane the methods may appear to us there can be no question that responsible statesmen of this country are doing their best to avert war. Not at all costs, of course. War is still considered more honourable than the spiritual degradation consequent upon Communist domination.

"O Liberté ! que de crimes on commet en ton nom ! " and what blindness to think one can plan to kill millions of men, women and children and not suffer spiritual degradation. Self annihilation cannot cancel that. So we must face not only annihilation but spiritual death also, if the threat of Communist encroachment cannot be halted.

THE "BIG STICK" STALEMATE

The argument for bigger and better arms has really nothing to do with morals. It has been called the equilibrium of forces or, by more ingenuous minds, the need for a big stick to keep an unruly bully in check. Thus, in terms of military strength, since the Communist land forces are stronger than those of the Western bloc, new and more devastating weapons seemed to be the answer, and so the atom bomb was manufactured in quantity. When the Russians produced their own atom bomb the policy of the Western Allies left them (or so thought America) with no alternative but to develop an even more destructive weapon.

And now that both sides have the hydrogen bomb, how shall the "bully" be kept in check ?

President Eisenhower thinks the very frightfulness of the bomb—even though it is held by both sides—will prove sufficient deterrent. The powers of the bomb are demonstrated and Mr. Dulles threatens "possible aggressors." But in fact a state of stalemate has been reached. Although a more powerful bomb could no doubt be devised it would have no practical use since it would destroy victim and user alike.

In effect the policy of meeting military strength with greater military strength has reached a terminus, and even to be "quicker on the draw" would not save the user from retributive destruction.

Thus, quite apart from moral considerations, there is no way out along the lines that have been pursued by both camps other than mutual destruction. There is yet time to go back and try again.

The action taken by Coventry Council recognises that the only defence against the hydrogen bomb lies in a change of policy.

COURAGEOUS COVENTRY

Until the Government are convinced of the necessity for this change they will continue to pretend that the dangers of the situation are magnified, that Civil Defence is a vital factor in the preservation of peace and that those who endeavour to make public the implications of the hydrogen bomb are alarmists, seeking to create panic and so give comfort to the enemy.

The acquiescence of the people is essential and the public will only acquiesce in accepting

● CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

Big Meeting on H-bomb next week

THE pacifist view on the H-bomb and what it means for mankind will be put by leading British pacifists at a meeting in London next Tuesday, May 18.

Dr. Donald Soper, President of the Methodist Conference, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, member of the Atomic Scientists Association, Miss Vera Brittain, famous authoress and James Hudson, MP, will be the speakers. Sybil Morrison, campaign organiser of the Peace Pledge Union will be in the chair.

All pacifists and sympathisers in the London area are urged to do all they can to make this meeting a great success as the beginning of a vigorous campaign to put the pacifist answer to the H-bomb squarely before the British people.

Dr SOPER TO LEAD HIS CONGREGATION IN H-BOMB MARCH

WHAT may well prove to be London's largest non-political peace demonstration will take place on Sunday when Dr. Donald Soper, President of the Methodist Conference, asks his congregation at Kingsway Hall, London, to join him in an H-bomb protest march through the West End at the close of the evening service.

All who sympathise with the protests Dr. Soper has already made are warmly invited to attend the service at 6.30 p.m. and also to join in the march.

The procession will assemble in Great Queen Street, Kingsway (near Holborn tube), shortly before 7.45 pm and move off soon afterwards.

A route is being considered which would include Great Queen Street, Long Acre, Newport Street, Charing Cross Road, Shaftesbury Avenue, Picadilly Circus, Regent Street, Oxford Street, New Oxford Street, High Holborn, Kingsway.

The marchers will carry posters urging the banning of hydrogen bombs and also advertising next Tuesday's meeting at Friends House at which Dr. Soper will speak.

Helpers to assemble poster boards are invited to call at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, tomorrow (Saturday).

H-bomb poster-sets for parades now ready

A COMPLETE set of 18 parade posters (size 20 x 30 ins.) has been printed by the Peace Pledge Union for use by groups in Britain and abroad.

Suitable for use in parades advertising meetings or on demonstrations, they may be obtained for 7s. 6d. a set post free from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

The titles read:

1. Would you drop an H-bomb ? 2. Brotherhood not bombs ; 3. Mankind is one family ; 4. Not agents of Moscow or Washington, but agents of peace; 5. Live and let live ; 6. Stop War.

7. Should Christians make H-bombs ? 8. H-bombs—the enemy of us all ; 9. The H-bomb is madness ; 10. Britain must not make the H-bomb ; 11. Ban all bombs ; 12. Ban the H-bomb.

13. Say "No" to making H-bombs ; 14. Mothers ! Would you let your son drop an H-bomb ? 15. Trust in God—and disarm ; 16. Thou shalt not kill ; 17. Love conquers fear ; 18. Co-operation—not killing.

DEATH OF AGATHA HARRISON

WE greatly regret to report the death of Agatha Harrison, who was taken ill and died suddenly in Geneva.

We shall publish an obituary article in next week's issue.

A memorial meeting will take place in the Small Meeting House, Friends House, Euston Rd., at 1 p.m. on Monday, May 17.

You can do this about the H-bomb

If you live in London and you are wondering what you can do to add your voice to the protest against the H-bomb, you need wonder no longer. The following demonstrations are arranged for tomorrow (Saturday) and Sunday.

Saturday morning, 10.30. Poster parade from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Saturday afternoon. Distribution of leaflets announcing Tuesday's meeting (see this page). Collect leaflets at Dick Sheppard House up to 2 p.m.

Saturday afternoon, Ilford, Essex. Leaflet distribution in connection with May 22 demonstration. Meet by Fashion Show Case in Ilford Station (15 minutes from Liverpool St. B.R.) at 2.30 p.m.

Sunday, Central London. Kingsway Hall service, 6.30 p.m. Poster parade following service (see this page).

Ban the Bomb—outlaw War

Tuesday, May 18, at 7 p.m.

DONALD SOPER, KATHLEEN LONSDALE
VERA BRITTAIN, JAMES HUDSON, M.P.

Chairman: Sybil Morrison **Organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.**

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1.

THIS IS THE WAY

Peace News readers in Birmingham are engaged in an intensive campaign to increase the circulation of the paper in their city. This poster is one of the means they are employing. The cost of the poster was £6 10s., and display costs £2 a month. The group is preparing smaller reproductions of the poster for street selling. Another promotional idea they use is the free delivery of copies of Peace News to selected addresses. Pictured here beside the poster is Margaret Taylor, a regular Peace News seller.

"Britain should regain control of U.S. bases"—KINGSLEY MARTIN

FIVE steps towards peaceful co-existence with Russia were outlined by Kingsley Martin, Editor of The New Statesman, at Friends House on Monday.

He was speaking in the second of a series of lectures organised by the National Peace Council on the danger spots of the world. His subject was "British-Soviet Relations."

The five steps were :

1. Britain should regain control of her own bomber bases. At present he pointed out, American aircraft carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, could leave this country without our knowledge.
2. Britain should strive desperately hard to prevent the rearmament of Germany. He believed that German generals, when armed were as likely to align themselves with the power of Russia as with the Powers in the West.
3. East-West trade should be encouraged.
4. Britain-China friendship should be cultivated. The Chinese revolution had been achieved without the aid of Russia, and he believed that the Chinese regime was not necessarily similar to that of Russia, aligned with that of Russia, nor hostile to the West.
5. Lastly and most important, it should be remembered that the majority of the world was still not in either the American or Russian block, but that if war did break out it was likely "to become a colour war rather than anything else." Coloured peoples would always tend to side with the East rather than the West, but by championing their cause, everywhere, and standing for the principle of freedom for all men, Britain would be doing "the best job for the peace of the world."

Amid all its changes Russian policy, he contended, was based on two stable principles: a belief in world Communism, which meant aid to revolutionary movements abroad ; and the desire to avoid world war, which was too costly a method for the spreading of her doctrine.

True friendship between Communist Russia and Britain was therefore in his view impossible, but an "agreement to disagree" could be reached only if we recognised these two permanent factors in the Russian outlook.

"Psychic arm"—Einstein's Warning

Speaking in Brussels to an audience of 1,700 people including Queen Elizabeth of Belgium the Abbe Pierre referred to a comment by Professor Einstein who had said that there was a greater danger for humanity than the hunger that threatened the world or even than the atom bomb. This was the "psychic arm" by means of which those who govern a nation or a group of nations can condition populations to an acceptance of the necessity for a war.

QUARRYMEN'S CONFERENCE

A general strike against war?

THE North Wales Quarrymen's Union Conference at Blaenau Ffestiniog last Saturday passed a resolution calling for a reduction in the expenditure on armaments and for the abolition of peace-time military conscription.

Councillor H. P. Roberts said that he was dismayed by the apathy among workers regarding matters of supreme importance at home and abroad.

"It is high time that we woke up to the fact that armaments, so far from giving us security against war, actually precipitate it."

War, he said, had never settled any problem. It was depressing to see how the common people had always suffered in every war and yet failed to realise that they could stop all wars by refusing to fight in them.

Peoples in other parts of the world were awaking to their enslavement and our young men were being conscripted in order that their risings could be crushed.

Mr. Roberts had been disappointed by the Labour Party's attitude towards conscription, and the Church had also lost a great opportunity to influence policy in this direction.

"So far as I can see," he said, "the only chance we have of exerting our influence effectively is through a general stoppage of work, but I am afraid that we in this generation have lost our courage and am incapable of such action."

Supporting, Mr. Roland Hughes said that Great Britain should disarm unilaterally as an example to other nations.

The resolution was passed with great fervour.

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MPs AND THE H-BOMB

MR. FRANK BESWICK, the Member of Parliament who proposed the additional clause to the Atomic Energy Commission Bill which would have required that there should be specific Parliamentary sanction before a hydrogen bomb could be produced by Britain, is not a pacifist.

Last week, in Tribune, he set out his reasons for moving his amendment. Commenting on the objection to it urged by Mr. R. T. Paget, who claimed that it was a "constitutional outrage" to refuse to the military authorities the right to choose whatever weapons they want, Mr. Beswick says:

> **"What kind of democratic constitution is it that is outraged when the properly elected MPs ask to have some say in policies which by unanimous consent may affect civilisation itself?"**

He then goes on to make a suggestion that we believe to be dangerously near the truth.

This is that the majority of MPs would prefer that there were no such clause there because they would feel it necessary "if compelled to make the decision themselves to vote against an H-bomb project." They would prefer therefore that the matter were taken out of their hands as they are "content to leave it to the Cabinet to give the order in secret for the bomb."

★ ★

We get impressive declarations from people in high places that the ordinary people should not put the responsibility for the parlous situation of the world today upon others but should shoulder it themselves, but there is no disposition to permit ordinary people to exercise control over this tremendous new factor that is to govern their future or to determine whether they are to have a future.

When Mr. Attlee in his May-Day speech put the responsibility upon ordinary people he doubtless sought to convey the impression that they would be exercising that responsibility wisely by changing a Conservative for a Labour Government. In regard to this great moral danger that is over the world, and with which Mr. Attlee was dealing specifically, they will have made no different declaration if they vote Labour than if they vote Conservative.

There is an equal responsibility upon both these Parties regarding the use of the atom bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, its subsequent development by this country following the USA, the British attitude to the American development of the hydrogen bomb, and the research that may lead to its manufacture in this country.

★ ★

The question of what is to be done regarding the possibilities of resorting to atomic and hydrogen bomb warfare is overwhelmingly the most important political issue today.

Policy upon it should not be settled by a process of covering up so that the decision may be left to Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Attlee and the people immediately around them. The matter should be forced into open discussion so that the people of this country shall have a full understanding of the actions their MPs are endorsing on their behalf. It is not only the pacifists in the House who are concerned here. It is every man who, like Mr. Royle, holds that the hydrogen bomb is a crime against humanity and, like Mr. Beswick, that it is a sin.

Nevertheless the pacifists have a special responsibility. It has been possible to sympathise with the dilemma of the pacifist member of the Labour Party who had to weigh his desire to help with the "welfare" measures he hoped his Party would put through against his disagreement with its armaments policy. The kind of compromise by which he kept straight with his conscience while not seriously embarrassing his Party is not a reasonable or decent one in face of the question whether we are to be ready to engage in hydrogen bomb warfare.

Those who are morally opposed to the development of the hydrogen bomb can have no other course open to them than to resist it by every means available independently of Party requirements.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Tragedy in Indo-China

THE French have been caught between the consequences of their record of imperial domination and their present subservience of the domination of America. Result: the grinding misery of the prolonged and futile campaign in Indo-China culminating in the tragedy of Dien Bien Phu.

At the end of World War II the French had no substantial foothold in Indo-China. They were re-established there by the British following the occupation partition at the 16th parallel.

The traditional American dislike of the imperialism of the European powers should have led the USA to encourage a French withdrawal from Indo-China in the same way as the British withdrew from India. The Americans had become engaged, however, in a struggle against the Chinese revolution, and to the needs of that struggle the American Government has been ready to sacrifice both its principles and the real interests of its allies.

The French have paid the price of subservience to American policy.

However, President Eisenhower says that Dien Bien Phu "will forever stand as a symbol of the free world's determination to resist dictatorial aggression and to sustain its right of self-determination and its dedication to the dignity of the human being."

Mr. Syngman Rhee, General Franco, President Tito, Dr. Malan, and the colonists in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, as well as those in Kenya with other pillars of the free world, will echo his words.

U.S.A meets diplomatic defeat

THERE is a tendency to attribute the USA's diplomatic defeat over Indo-China to the ham-fisted way in which Mr. Foster Dulles has handled the business.

We think that the British Government's refusal to be associated with a threat of united military action may have saved our involvement in what might have proved to be World War III. (We think it worth while to point out that it was a Conservative Government that has been responsible for this diplomatic defeat of Mr. Dulles. This may seem rather obvious, but we have listened to Labour spokesmen who do not seem to have noticed it.)

It is a mistake to put too much emphasis on the clumsiness of Mr. Dulles.

If he and his nauseating moral claims were all that endangered world peace, dealing with them would not be so very difficult. The trouble is that the operations of Mr. Dulles are really only an expression—and sometimes a rather mild expression—of the views of a dominant section of the Republican Party and a considerable portion of the Democratic Party.

War policy

Mr. Walter S. Robertson, America's Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, indicated earlier this year that State Department policy was to keep alive a constant threat of military action against China in the hope that at some point there would be an internal breakdown.

Cold war led by Formosa and other Far Eastern groups, militarily supported by the US, should be waged under American leadership. At some point these groups should be prepared to move in militarily on China with American support.

This meant that the United States must maintain American domination in the Far East for an indefinite period of years.

The justification for such a programme was that it was necessary for American security.

It is a complementary aspect of such a policy that France has been encouraged to bleed herself white in Indo-China and that Britain has been under pressure to agree to join in.

The allies should be heeded

According to Mr. David Lawrence, Editor-in-Chief of US News and World Report, with its seven hundred thousand influential Americans who include the wealthy armaments manufacturers, the Texas oil millionaires and other Americans who control big business, what has happened means that the US has been "left in the lurch by irresolute allies unwilling to stand firm when the chips are down."

Since he wrote those words Mr. Lawrence has been writing much more smoothly about developments at Geneva, but we hope that those whom Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Dulles represent have not changed their minds.

VIEWS CHANGED BY ORDER

The Catholic Gazette, magazine of the Catholic Missionary Society, on the H-bomb—

"*We know atomic scientists whose consciences are troubled . . . .*

"*Our view (which we shall instantly change if the authority of the Church comes against it) is that they may continue their work untroubled.*"

It is time that the "agonising reappraisal" began.

One aspect of policy that the State Department might bring into its reappraisal is the consideration of whether there may not be something to be said for the policy of its allies in regard to China.

It is a different policy from that of the State Department and the difference is rather vital.

A rebel recants

MR. JOHN TAYLOR, Scottish Whip of the Labour Party, was one of the three Labour whips who were asked to resign after they had voted for Mr. Frank Beswick's clause in the recent debate on the Atomic Energy Authority.

The clause asked that Britain should not make the hydrogen bomb without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. In voting for it tthe whips defied the official Labour direction to abstain from voting.

But Mr. Taylor recanted later. In reply to the letter from the Chief Whip requesting his resignation he wrote:

> "The principle involved is whether a Whip should on any occasion, no matter how strongly he feels, depart from a decision reached by those to whom his colleagues have given the responsibility and the authority to make decisions. I agree that he should not do so and that you are entitled to be sure that he will not.
>
> "I freely say that in this clash of loyalties my greater one should have been to you and to the department . . ."

Shadow of "1984"

It is an indictment not so much of the man as of the nature of political party methods that this kind of dilemma should arise. It seems incredible that sensitive human beings in the face of the ghastly fact of the H-bomb can abandon a position conscientiously taken (for so we must assume it) because of a superior loyalty to a "department."

There is something sinister about that phrase "the department." It is reminiscent of Orwell's nightmare.

Is there any difference between this attitude and the plea of Nazi war criminals that they were only doing what they had been told to do, they were only "being loyal."

Surely there was another alternative for Mr. Taylor. Surely he could have resigned as Whip. This would have been small price indeed to pay for obedience to the demands of conscience.

McCarthy and McCarthyism

IN a note on the Army v. McCarthy hearings, A. J. Muste says:

In some circles McCarthy has lost standing but the papers recently printed an account of a meeting in Wisconsin, the Senator's home state, which clearly reveals why McCarthyism is not going to be discredited or abandoned, even if the Senator should suffer eclipse.

In the small Wisconsin town of Burlington on May 1 an observance of "May Day US Way" was staged. The main event was a meeting at which the two Wisconsin Sentaors—the other being Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and recognised spokesman on foreign affairs in the Senate for Eisenhower—were the featured speakers.

Senator Wiley, not McCarthy, urged Congress to enact legislation to control "individual Communists in strategic industries"; to extend capital punishment to persons guilty of espionage in peace time and so on. Having commented on such matters in his address, the Senator declared: "There is no country in the world which mankind looks to as it looks to America."

Absentee

It was a matter of personal sorrow to the people of Buganda, said the Prime Minister and Senior Regent of Buganda, in greeting Queen Elizabeth on her visit to his land, that the Queen could not be received by their own ruler as they had wished so deeply.

The Queen, who has not to fear any immediate threat of dethronement and exile by a representative of a Foreign Power, did not refer to the Kabaka in her reply.

LETTER FROM THE USA — By A. J. MUSTE

The Praja Party and the Communists

IT has been reported in Peace News that in the election in the State of Travancore-Cochin a few weeks ago there was an arrangement between the Praja-Socialist Party and the Communist Party not to run candidates against each other. It has also been reported that, though the Praja Party elected fewer members of the new Legislature than either the Congress Party or the Communist Party, it is Praja which has formed the Government, refusing a coalition with the Communists, and now supported by the Congress Party in Travancore.

The Praja-Socialist Party in the State under the leadership of Shri Pattam A. Thanu Pillai (who it may be mentioned was the first Congress Chief Minister and for a long time President of the State Congress Party) entered into an election arrangement with the United Front of Leftists which included the Communist Party. This the Praja Party announced was to avoid a three cornered fight in the elections—between the Congress, the Communists and the Socialists.

For the election only

Though in the recent election there was no agreement about mutual help in the election campaign, nor for any post-election co-operation, in some Praja constituencies the Communists started campaigning for the Praja-Socialist candidates—putting up their flags and using their slogans and placards. They began to speak of the Praja as part of the United Front of Leftists. They also started speaking in terms of a coalition ministry between them and the Praja Party.

Though a considerable section of Praja was aware of this danger of infiltration and opportunism of the Communists, few ventured to challenge it for fear this would affect their votes adversely. The All Indian Praja Party leadership also was rather guarded in statements during the campaign even though they made it clear that the election arrangement with the Communist Party was but an election "adjustment" and not an "alliance." The Congress and Capitalist papers, however, exploited the situation to throw mud on the Praja Party.

The Bishops and other leaders of the Christian churches also decried this "unholy alliance" and The Youth Christian Council of Action of which K. K. Chandy, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in India, is the leader, was about the only Christian organisation which pointed out that despite the "un-holy alliance"—which term it condemned—it was in the best interests of the country that a considerable number of Praja candidates were returned so that they might either form the chief opposition as against the Communist Party, or co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Ministry.

In Travancore, while the State Congress Party in the present as well as the previous elections declared that steps would be taken for bringing about an equitable re-distribution of land, no practical measures were taken. No wonder the proletariat sees the Congress as an instrument in the hands of the monied classes for the maintenance of their vested interests. In a country where 75 per cent. of the population are agricultural peasants the importance of this question cannot be exaggerated. No wonder, often much against their natural inclination, the proletariat have to a considerable extent aligned themselves with the Communist Party.

Under these circumstances, if the working classes have to be saved from falling into the hands of the Communist Party, the need for a political party which without minimising the importance of democratic methods wants, with a deep sense of urgency, to put into practice a programme of social justice, becomes a very real need. The Praja-Socialist Party which has an All Indian basis and is committed to the methods of democracy under the leadership of eminent Gandhians like Jai Prakash Narain, Acharya Kripalani, etc., is the only party in the country which might answer this need and offer an alternative to the totalitarianism of Communism and the lack of fire for social justice of the Congress Party.

If for the masses the choice is only between Congress and the Communist Party that might prove to be the safest way of letting in Communism by the backdoor. Praja, however, offers to the country the alternative of a Party which accepts Gandhian methods but at the same time evinces a sense of urgency for social justice. The Communist Party senses this danger and they consider the Praja Party as their enemy No. 1!

Nehru stated at a meeting of Congress workers at Nagpur before the Travancore elections that he was sorry that the Praja Party did not gain more strength in the country. This indicates how the Prime Minister himself appreciates the relevance of the above analysis.

As soon as the Travancore elections were over the Congress Party announced that they were not prepared to form the Ministry. The United Front of Leftists with a total membership of 40 seats declared that with the co-operation of Praja they were going to form the Ministry under "the leadership of the Praja party." Praja, however, announced that they were not entering into a coalition with any Party but would be supporting any Party that would push forward their programme whether it be the Congress or the United Front. As soon as this statement was announced by the Travancore leadership of the Praja Party, Acharya Kripalani the National leader of the Party, in unequivocal terms declared that the National Executive was not in favour of Praja co-operating with the United Front.

The Congress Party leadership then declared that they would be willing to support the Praja Party if Praja formed the Ministry. This decision of the Congress Party, no doubt inspired by its national leadership, evinces political foresight and magnanimity. The local leader of the Congress Party stated that they were happy to support Praja to form the Ministry because Congress wanted to save "the infant of democracy in the State from being smothered by totalitarianism." Praja boldly came forward accepting this offer from the Congress Party, and saved the country from rule by Presidential decree.

Anti-corruption

The Ministry has since been formed and there is reason to believe that this experiment in the Travancore marks an important phase in India's march towards democratic socialism. It is gratifying to note that the Congress Party in other States such as Madras, placed in a similar condition, is also learning from the wisdom of this step and turning to more open co-operation with the Praja Party. The Communist Party, which hoped to form a coalition Government with the Praja Party taking up such portfolios as Home and the control of the Police as they did in Czechoslovakia, started violent denunciation of the Praja Party, and feels frustrated and angry that its dreams have not come true.

The Praja Party Government have already set up an Anti-Corruption Department, exempted children up to the lower secondary grade from class fees, reduced the price of rice, removing control, and have announced the introduction of land legislation in the next session of the Legislature.

Science for Peace conference

SCIENTIST v THE H-BOMB

AT the third Annual Two-day Conference of "Science for Peace," attended by 69 scientists, Saturday's Chairman, **Prof. J. D. Bernal,** FRS, emphasised the personal responsibility of scientists. He cited Dr. Oppenheimer, American atomic scientist, whose dismissal occurred when he advocated a policy of halting H-bomb development, which was unpopular with USA authorities. On Sunday **Prof. Gregory** occupied the Chair.

Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, Reader in Physics and author, spoke on control of atomic energy.

The process of "breeding" had now made available large supplies of electric power for peaceful uses. Running costs would be negligible. Only small amounts of fissile material are needed, so power stations could be built in remote places and backward countries.

A city of 100,000 could have its own atomic power station, the by-products being used in pasteurising milk, sterilising food and producing plastics. Existing atomic weapon plants could be converted for this purpose.

But these good things would not happen while the threat of mass destruction hung over us. Those who argued that possession of the H-bomb made us "safer now than we were with bows and arrows" forgot that it gave an overwhelming advantage to the first aggressor.

"Someone may strike the first blow, to prevent the enemy doing so. Two or three H-bombs would make this country untenable."

CD useless

CD would not give even "psychological" protection. As to Cobalt bombs, 1,000 of these could destroy all life on the earth, owing to the seven years duration of the radioactivity released. If coated with phosphorus, the effect would be speeded-up.

How can scientists act in this emergency, asked Dr. Burhop.

Since ordinary people know nothing whatever about scientific matters, they must begin by telling the public the truth and contradicting the campaign of deliberate lying in the newspapers.

It was not true that Russia would not agree to inspection of her atomic installations, or that her proposals for control were "unreal," as The Times had said recently.

Actual remaining points of difference between the USA and USSR plans for control were not great. Main disagreement was on the question of ownership of all atomic plants.

"After the Korean war, I feel there is not much difference between having these weapons in one's own country, or having them controlled by an international agency."

The question of inspection was now complicated by the fact that large stock piles of the bombs existed, which could easily be hidden underground. Also, atomic weapons were now issued to field forces.

Russia had agreed, however, that all atomic stations should be thrown open and search allowed on suspicion only. She was also committed to continuous inspection.

The important thing was for negotiation to go on. Russia had jet bombers for delivery now, and in another year or so her production of H-weapons would be equal to the USA.

Trust needed

The speaker agreed that no complete control was possible without the abolition of war. But 98% control was better than none, as at present. "At some stage we have to trust the other country."

Mr. J. A. P. Hall, speaking on the present crisis in education and the terrible shortage of teachers and overcrowding in dilapidated

✱ on back page

PLEASE DON'T PASS THE PLATE

THE VICAR had preached an interesting sermon on the work of the Church overseas and made an eloquent appeal for a collection which was to be devoted entirely to the education of the heathen. When the churchwarden was taking up the collection, a well-dressed man at the end of one of the pews said "I don't hold with foreign missions" as he passed the plate. To which the churchwarden replied "In that case take something out—the collection is for you."

Although these appeals from the Peace Pledge Union lack the eloquence of the vicar, the purpose of the collection is to help the PPU to educate public opinion to a recognition of the immorality and ineffectiveness of war and of the realism of the alternative method of settling disputes.

The man in the story would not help because he said he did not believe in the object of the collection, but many Peace News readers, though they do believe in pacifism and realise the need of spreading it, continue to give nothing. I do not believe that any of you would really pass the plate if I could hold it in front of you, but it seems to be too much trouble to write a cheque or buy a P.O. or a book of stamps and send it to me. Too much trouble? Or not interested enough? I cannot say to you "In that case take something out," but I can say "I do hope that you will prove that I am wrong by sending your contribution to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund without delay."

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.
Amount received to date: £154.

Can we make a big-effort to make the £500 by June 24?

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

UNITARIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Why working people do not support the churches

—Sir RICHARD ACLAND, MP

"I WANT to suggest today that the Churches in the last century lost a very large majority of the working people of this country because they made no significant protest against the enormities of the early stages of the industrial revolution; and that the Churches are losing the world for God today because they are equally negligent and silent in face of the supreme world challenge," said Sir Richard Acland, MP, to a meeting of the Unitarian Peace Fellowship at Rosslyn Hill Chapel in London last week.

The meeting was one of a series organised by the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.

Today about 1½ billion people, some two-thirds of the human race, were awakening from their centuries-old poverty.

The position could be summed up by giving a few simple figures: 16 per cent. of the world's population, living in the 19 richest countries, enjoyed two-thirds of the world's income; 50 per cent. of the world's population, living in the 15 poorest countries, had only 9 per cent. of the world's income.

It was no use, he pointed out, talking in terms of investment. What was needed were schools, roads, public utilities, agricultural research — which brought no immediate financial return. Sacrifice was needed, possibly in some cases even the reintroduction of rationing. But if people cared enough they could materially contribute to ending this position in less than 50 years; they could create new hope in less than five years, and at a sacrifice far less than that undertaken in any shooting war.

To meet only the very reasonable requests sent in from the so-called backward countries meant the expenditure of 43 million dollars a year, it was estimated; the actual amount allowed by the UN Technical Assistance Programme for 1954, as for 1953, was 25 millions —little over half. The contribution of Great Britain to this fund was the meanest of any comparable country.

Addressing a further meeting in this series on "The Churches and the Colour Bar," Reginald Sorensen, MP, said: "The Christian faith will never be able to spread far, so long as it condones the colour bar, something which is distinctly antithetical to our cardinal assumption that we are children of one God, and members one of another."

It should be made crystal clear that the colour of a man's skin was an incidental matter, of some interest but of no fundamental significance. If we doubted this fact, let us think of Pandit Nehru, who had done so much on behalf of 300 million Indians to end the tensions and conflicts of the Western World; of Krishna Menon; of Mrs. Pandit; of Mahatma Gandhi; and of Christ Himself, whose skin could hardly have been as white as our own.

Young Wales will speak goodwill

ON Tuesday, May 18, the children of Wales will broadcast their 33rd annual world wirless message of goodwill.

May 18 is the day because it is the anniversary of the opening of the First Official Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899.

The message will be taken up and replied to by children from many other countries. In their message, which will be broadcast from the Wales BBC Region in the Children's Hour at 5 pm Summer Time on a wave length of 341 metres, the children will say:

"Boys and Girls of all nations! We, the boys and girls of Wales, once again greet you. This is Goodwill Day. Across land and sea, youth calls to youth in the name of freedom and of friendship.

"We rejoice, today, in all the efforts of men and women of every race and people, who are doing their best to set the world free from war.

"We want a world in which never again shall countless homes be destroyed and little children suffer hunger.

"We want a world where no nation shall live in fear of any other nation.

"We want a world where the nations shall work together for the good of all, trusting each other and sharing together the riches of the earth.

"By our confidence and courage, by our thoughts and deeds, we can help to spread a new spirit throughout the world, and we will.

"Youth of all lands, let us dedicate ourselves today to our great adventure of peace on earth and goodwill among men."

(Communications relating to the World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales should be addressed to its Founder, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, CBE, MA, Temple of Peace, Cardiff.)

YOUNG SPEAKERS CAMPAIGN AGAINST WAR

"LET us not deceive ourselves by describing any bomb as a weapon for peace" said Michael Randle quoting Cardinal Griffin, the Archbishop of Westminster. Michael Randle was one of four young speakers who addressed a public meeting at Reigate recently.

They were three young Quakers (two of them senior girls from the County school) and a Catholic pacifist who were stating the Christian alternative to war.

Mark Chamberlain said that Quakers were called to work for the removal of all occasions of war; Dawn Goodchild asked for an appeal to the best in men; Jennifer Brown linked the achievement of peace with the conquest of poverty and hunger and the solution of problems of race and colour.

After a long discussion the speakers were urged by members of the audience to offer themselves to speak to other organisations who would be willing to hear them. This they gladly agreed to do.

Germany shelves Civil Defence plans

WEST Germany has shelved its detailed plans for civil defence while a closer investigation is made of the "disastrous issues" involved in Hydrogen bomb warfare. A German CD mission has been invited to the United States for a study of American plans and methods.

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A resolution calling for the end of the call-up is on the Agenda of the Women's Co-operative Guild Conference to be held in Brighton on May 24, 25 and 26.

Young pacifists launch out

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A PROGRAMME TO TEST AND INSPIRE

IN January of this year the Peace Pledge Union recognised PYAG, the then newly formed Pacifist Youth Action Group, as its Youth Commission.

Already the Group shows promise. Realistically it recognises peace as a positive psychological condition based upon active, working co-operation and mutual assistance and respect among ALL peoples. It wages a determined "War on want; equally with a "War on hatred." It stresses peace rather than pacifism. It accepts the doctrine of the Universal Brotherhood of Man and the rights of all people to equality of citizenship.

Its policy statement declares:

"The Pacifist Youth Action Group was formed in order to co-ordinate the efforts of young pacifists, and to bring new members into the movement.

"The responsibility of creating peace, relieving poverty and increasing international understanding is not only that of politicians.

"We cannot destroy what we believe to be wrong by war, as war involves and justifies every evil. It destroys indiscriminately and creates nothing but more hatred and suffering.

"Two-thirds of mankind are hungry, diseased and poverty stricken. Let us concern ourselves with these problems, and join others in helping to find the answers, working always to that difficult but possible goal Peace."

Today PYAG's activities include: selling Peace News; atending political and other meetings and putting the pacifist view; encouraging young people to take the lead themselves, rather than wait to be organized; arranging social and similar activities; acquiring effective lecturing and discussion group techniques.

The Group plans shortly to expand its programme to embrace contacts with all British peace groups and with compatible overseas and international organisations and groups; a systematic press correspondence; demonstrations; fund-raising for bodies such as the Oxford Committee for Famine relief; contacts with youth and other organisations generally, irrespective of political colour, race or creed; the organising of Youth Parliaments.

Finally, PYAG is ambitious. It is eager to pioneer a path designed to result in the formation of Peace Youth Action Groups the world over. If it succeeds it will perform an invaluable service. But it cannot succeed alone. It desperately needs the support and assistance of older peace-workers who, by placing their knowledge, training, resources and contacts at its disposal, can assist it over its first real hurdles and foster its initial enthusiasm.

PYAG meets regularly at 7 p.m. on Wednesdays, at Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N. 4. Its secretary, a founder member, is David H. Lane, 88 Dollis Hill Lane, London, N.W.2. (phone GLAdstone 4275).

• • •

Eight Nowegian youth organisations are combining to invite 1,000 young people from the East and the West to join a Summer Camp on Ekeberg Hill, near Oslo, from July 18 to 25. There will be cultural programmes, folk dances, visits to factories in the neighbourhood, etc. Cheap tent accommodation is available. Particulars may be obtained from: Secretary, Committee for World Youth Gathering, Torggata 14, Oslo, Norway.

POTENTIAL THIRD CAMPERS

Unations

Another important potential Third Camp area is Central and South America. Nations there have consistently shown their reluctance to support Western cold war policies at UN while being clearly opposed to Communism. They are against colonialism and US economic domination.

This picture shows a World Health Organisation nurse teaching child care to a young mother from El Salvador. The fight against poverty and ignorance is the only fight most South Americans are interested in today.

JOHN BANKS, Secretary of the Common Wealth Party, on—

WHAT I UNDERSTAND BY THE THIRD CAMP

A digest of a talk recently given to a joint meeting of the Richmond, Clapham and Wandsworth Groups of the Peace Pledge Union.

THE idea of a third element in world politics since the war, began with the French idea of the "force troisieme"—the third force —which was a plan to make Western Europe a power state capable of holding its own against America and Russia. This idea was based on military force, not moral force.

It was eventually debunked, but arising from it came the neutralists, a mixed bag of people —fellow-travellers, Right-Wing Gaullists and other. There was no unity and no common purpose among them.

Now, however, the idea has undergone a considerable development. Mainly owing to the rise of India and other Asian nations, there has come into being a grouping of countries which quite genuinely have no interest in the cold war and no inclination to favour either of the power blocs. The influence of Indian ideas in the West has helped to stimulate new thinking and from this has emerged the Third Camp.

Some examples of Third Camp directions are in:

ASIA: Praja Socialists and Gandhians are supporting a great co-operative movement for national reform and world peace. Vinoba Bhave has achieved phenomenal success in obtaining land for the landless, not by force, but by a strong moral appeal to the landlords. The emphasis is on self-help at the village level rather than on government resolutions.

A new ideology

CHINA: Immediately after the war one Professor Lo Meng Tse decided there was a need for a new ideology. He concluded that it was a mistake to think that socialism need be violent or that democracy need be capitalist. A group of students was founded which agreed on a new programme and a new method—the method of action through people, not governments. When the Communists came to power in China, the Chu Lieu Society (Society of the Main Stream) moved to Hong Kong. They are still in continuous contact with sympathisers on the mainland. A representative of Chu Lieu recently came to Britain to meet Third Campers.

USA: There had recently come into being here the US Third Camp group which comprised pacifists, democratic socialists and war resisters. They were paying serious attention to the implications of the Third Camp idea.

GERMANY: There is a strong movement for industrial democracy in Germany and it has the backing of the German trade unions which are thinking on vastly different lines from the British trade unions. They say that war idustries must not be developed again. They could be a most valuable addition to the Third Camp and would strongly influence other Europeans in favour of neutralism.

In the discussion John Banks said that the Bevan idea was good as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. Positive neutralism must include the idea of decentralism, there was no point in creating just another bloc of states with the same accretion of power that brought the problems of the cold war. The Welsh and Scots national parties were decentralist in outlook and were attracting many people—especially youth—away from the other parties.

The essence of the Third Camp idea was the breaking up of power centres, military, economic, political. It was hopeless to try to drive sense into America or Russia by co-operating with the one or the other in its present policy.

The alternative was to show them a better way by beginning now among ourselves to create new patterns of living and to put them into practice. This would give us something to do without waiting for other people to act first.

If Dr. Oppenheimer pleads guilty

Among the charges laid against America's leading atomic scientist, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is that he opposed the making of the hydrogen bomb on "moral and political" grounds. The following comments are made by Mr. I. F. Stone, in his weekly commentary.

I suppose that on the basis of rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's, the Church could excusably shy away from any comment on the latter half of this indictment. To say that Dr. Oppenheimer opposed the H-bomb on "political" grounds is in any case too terrifying; it seems to imply that out of some affinity he wickedly objected to blowing the enemy, ideology and all, to smithereens.

But the "moral" half of the indictment is another matter. Is not morality the province of Church and Synagogue? Have we not been told over and over again of the dangers which flow from divorcing science from morality and morality from religion? When a scientist is accused of objecting to the H-bomb on "moral" grounds, it begins to sound as if there were circumstances under which the government regards morality as subversive.

We have seen many conversions in our time. What if Dr. Oppenheimer should get up at his hearing and say that after long thought he had returned to the faith of his fathers and now took literally the injunction "Thou shalt not kill?" What if the hearing board were forced to bar him from all defence work on the ground that he took the Ten Commandments literally?

Or what if Dr. Oppenheimer got up and said that after long brooding he had been drawn to Jesus and become a Christian and felt impelled to live by the injunction, "Love you enemies . . . resist not evil?" What if he were to say that he could not reconcile the making of newer and bigger bombs with his new found religious belief? How embarrassing if the hearing board were forced to declare Dr. Oppenheimer a security risk because he had become a Christian.

What if the learned judges were to say to him, "But Dr. Oppenheimer, we too are believers. We, too, honour these injunctions. Yet not to make the most powerful weapon possible is to run the risk that the enemy may overcome us." And what if he were to answer, "I no longer believe the end justifies the means?"

What if Dr. Oppenheimer were to say, "I do not believe that preparations for the mass immolation of human beings, the innocent and the guilty, the civilian and the soldier, the young and the old, the believer and the unbeliever, can morally be justified by any rationalisation? Have we not said that we believe each individual precious as a spark struck from some greater Anvil, the vessel of Spirit, the image of his Creator?"

How embarrassing if the Board is compelled to rule that holding such beliefs, though not necessarily proof of disloyalty, nor even intrinsically subversive, does make a man something of a security risk?

And what if Dr. Oppenheimer takes none of these extreme and radical attitudes, does not speak as a Tolstoyan or a pietist but merely admits that he opposed the H-bomb because he felt that slaughter on so vast a scale was—to use an unscientific, an old-fashioned, a simple-minded term—*wrong*? Suppose he thus pleads guilty by admitting he opposed the H-bomb on moral grounds?

CHRISTIANS AND THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

by

W. GRIGOR McCLELLAND

Price 9d

This new pamphlet presents the Christian approach to the East-West conflict and seeks to aid Christians in the West to deepen their understanding of the nature and causes of the conflict.

●

From: Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London N.W.1

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OUR FATE IS IN THE HANDS OF MENTAL PATIENTS

The speech reproduced below was delivered by Dr. Comfort at a meeting at Friends House on April 28 organised by Science for Peace and the Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

ALEX COMFORT

THE first and most immediate reaction which the public felt on hearing of the last hydrogen bomb experiment was one of fear—exaggerated fear, perhaps—that the earth would be blown up or the atmosphere poisoned.

Neither of those results seems at all likely, though with regard to atmospheric poisoning there are several biologists who are concerned with the possibility that even the existing level of natural radioactivity may have some biological effects.

Those fears having been to some extent allayed, the urgent pressure of protest throughout the civilised world at the continuance of these experiments has already begun to subside—into the arguments which cover our sense of guilt: after all, we are only back where we have been ever since Hiroshima. We know that Britain cannot survive another war as an organised community. We knew that already. All we know now is that we personally cannot survive another war.

Those who advocate the manufacture of hydrogen bombs are anxious to convince us that they differ from other weapons only in scale.

Within a very short time of the Commons debate, Gen, Gruenther, who is a persuasive speaker, was arguing that after all, if this were a terrible weapon, all weapons today are terrible, that there is no line one can draw: if we renounce atomic bombardment, we should *a fortiori* renounce area bombing with conventional high explosives; if we renounce that, we should renounce artillery.

I agree with him. I personally believe that war today could not be justified for any object whatsoever, and I am prepared to take that to its logical conclusions.

But to suggest even so that the hydrogen bomb and the atomic bomb do not differ in kind from other armaments is untrue.

Throughout history human societies have drawn distinctions even in the barbarities they have been willing to inflict on each other, and those distinctions, illogical as they have often been, have been one of the features of social behaviour which have enabled us to survive until now. When societies have violated them, they have rarely done so in pursuit of the logical, and those that have done so have always been in the road of self-destruction.

Abnormal psychology

There is an aspect of the hydrogen bomb more grave, to my mind, than its physical or biological effects—a respect in which such weapons seem to me to differ even from the massacres of civilians committed both by the Nazis and by the allies in the last war.

These weapons, the H-bomb and its like, are the characteristic weapons of mental patients. The atomic armaments programme, certainly in the United States and perhaps in Britain and Russia as well, has long since passed out of the field of mere weapon research into the field of abnormal psychology.

That is not a political, but a legitimately medical observation in terms of what we know of the psychopathology of societies and of individuals.

It may be, as Gen. Gruenther implied, that the development of the public attitude to such weapons has displayed a series of insensible gradations, between our reaction to the bombing of Guernica and Addis Abbaba, and our reaction to the bombing of Cologne, and on to Hiroshima and now to Bikini. Psychotic behaviour in individuals shows the same kind of march.

The change has progressed since 1947. I doubt if the United Nations would have remained silent then if the inhabitants of trust territories had been used, even though accidentally, as experimental animals.

Medical students learn that lunacy is impossible to define and easy to recognise. But I would put it to you like this: a sane man may say "if that man hits me I will kill him," a sane but cruel man, "if that man hits me I will kill him and his whole family."

I do not think it takes a psychiatrist to recognise the difference between those propositions and the statement "if this man hits me, I will burn down the house and kill us both."

That is where I think we stand today in weapon policy.

Disordered fantasy

And it is not far from that proposition to the next, which follows it: "that man is going to hit me, I will burn down the house and kill us both to forestall him."

The hydrogen bomb is not a weapon at at—all it is a fantasy of mentally disordered people translated into reality by the acquiescence of others.

It does not come within the sphere of battles which were fought for a purpose, or even crimes which were committed to secure an end—it belongs with Hitler's extermination of the Jews, or some of the activities of the Roman emperors; phenomena which were the outcome of mental disease which somehow, either through an individual madman or through the spread of paranoiac attitudes within a culture, or both, got hold of a civilisation.

I think that is now true even to the extent that participation in preparing such weapons at all, at least at the higher levels, implies some degree of personality deviation. I am perfectly serious in saying that.

Psychiatric interpretations ought not to be used lightly to stigmatise policies we do not like. All societies contain some individuals and some patterns of attitude which are irrational or destructive. But it was argued by Sir Winston Churchill that we should be glad that this weapon was in the hands of the US, who could be trusted not to abuse it. I believe that it is tragic that this weapon should have got into the hands of any government, and, I am obliged to say it, doubly tragic that it should have got into the hands of the present government of the United States.

Let me make myself quite clear on this point—it is one which has often been raised in recent weeks—I do not think that any government is to be trusted with weapons of this kind, or, for that matter, trusted at all where freedom from irrationality is concerned.

Disquiet and terror

No social psychologist could fail to be aware that the Russian government, which also has the bomb, is wrestling, and has wrestled for many years, with forms of irrationality of its own.

But it seems to me, as a purely psychiatric judgment, that viewed in the context of this weapon world public opinion was probably right in its judgment when it viewed the Russian bomb with disquiet, and the American bomb with terror.

Where this weapon is concerned, I personally am less alarmed on medical grounds by the attitude of mind which produced the Slansky trial than by the attitude of mind in America today, which leads to a fascination with Götterdämmerung, in which, in a word, "the enemy" becomes an excuse for burning down the house.

I am very gravely alarmed by the growth in the United States of this attitude, which sprang first of all, I think, from the guilt-feelings of humane people towards the atomic bombs and the hatreds of the last war, combined with a feeling of cultural and personal insecurity, and which seems to me now to have reached the stage at which any relaxation of hostility, any lessening of the likelihood of catastrophe, would be unwelcome.

I find abundant evidence of this attitude in American literature today, even at its most humane, and I fear that, now it has become possible for a handful of men to initiate war more or less upon their own whim, the craving for the realisation of these fantasies will prove too strong even if those who nourish them are deprived of the Communist onslaught which was to have provided the ethical justification for the end of the world. We remember Hitler in the bunker under the Chancellery.

In such a context, no psychologist could be too sure that we shall not encounter the deliberate mistake, and the very existence of this situation places dangerous pressure on the Soviet government as well. I do not put this forward out of political animosity towards either side, but as long as it is argued, as it was argued in the House of Commons, that the public can safely ignore this weapon because the West has it, this has to be said.

Our confidence has been too far strained by utterances from our own side for any such complacency.

I have introduced psychiatry because the problem which this weapon poses is quite as much psychological as political or military.

Social morale

While its use against us would be distastrous and self-evidently so, I am quite sure its use by us, or even its continued development by us, would be almost equally disastrous. I believe it might destroy our whole social morale.

In just on twenty years our society has moved from the attitude which filled us with indignation at the bombing of Guernica to the acceptance by almost all our political and many religious leaders, and by the policy-making part of our culture as a whole, of the idea that genocide, the indiscriminate slaughter of man, woman, child and beast, is a normal and acceptable military policy.

The policy originated partly with the example of the Nazis, partly with a few mental patients in our own executive. Now it is accepted. "Massive retaliation" is the word.

With the exception of the Nazis, I do not think this attitude has existed in any fully civilised community during peacetime for at least two hundred years.

It is perfectly true that all war involves savagery, but it is also true that the difference between the humane community and what I would call the "rogue" community is that the savagery is at least regarded in humane cultures with shame, that it is disguised, that there are lengths to which it will not go.

In the case of both Britain and Russia, I think that that probably is still so, though the two cultures have very different ethical standards and mores, and are sensitive about different kinds of savagery. Our attitude is more hostile to repression, theirs to genocide, though like all societies we have both transgressed our own principles on occasion.

I believe that the United States is at the crossroads between the two conditions—its people on one side, some of its military leaders on the other. And the important thing from this point of view is that America is politically "on our side." We could afford the unreason of our enemies—we cannot afford the insanity of our allies.

Direction of sanity

I think that without any arrogance this country could be in a position to act as therapist, that it could take even more effectively the lead in the direction of sanity which is today being taken very courageously by India. We could do it because, in spite of propaganda, we hate neither the Russians nor the Americans.

But I am equally certain that it is an absolutely essential psychological prerequisite of any such action that we should dissociate ourselves finally and unconditionally from these weapons and all others like them. So long as we possess them or claim to rest our defence on their possession by others, we cannot avoid the moral and intellectual numbness which they engender, and which has done so much to paralyze liberal public opinion in the United States. A sense of guilt is in many ways more dangerous than the receipt of an injury.

I think it is essential the Britain should declare, first that she will never use these weapons; and second that she will sever all association with any power which does use them or threatens to use them and that she should make her continued political association with the United States conditional upon an acceptance of this position. We know very well that the effect of such a decision on national morale, at the common and at the individual level, would be enormous. I think there is nobody, right or left, who would not be personally relieved of a great psychological weight by it.

Moral leadership

Its effect on our moral standing in the world, and the moral standing of democracy, if we value that, would be incalculable. And in point of fact it would involve no greater risk to our military security than we now run. This country, and Europe, are wholly indefensible.

The atomic power of the RAF could give us revenge, but it could not give us protection, while that of the United States is as likely to involve us in war as to deter aggression.

This weapon is one which destroys the man who holds it. We have got to get it out of our hand, and it may well be that the butt is more dangerous than the muzzle

It will be argued that we must at all costs safeguard Western Unity. I believe we can do that best by assuming the moral leadership in terms of sanity and conciliation. The last Gadarene swine to go over the top did so in the interests of unity. Western Unity and human freedom are not slogans which can be carried convincingly by a group of military men whose victories are always won, for choice, against civilians or prisoners of war. Such people do not want allies—they want accomplices.

And above all we must not let the acceptance of this weapon by public opinion come about through the lapse of time. The issue is cool-

● **next page**

Talking of books . . .

By Robert Greacen

Anarchy and Order, by Herbert Read, Faber, 16s.
Heroes of the Empty View, by James Aldridge, Bodley Head, 12s. 6d.
Living Happily with a "Heart," by Tom Clarke, Gollancz, 7s. 6d.

Mays

Away with the professional politicians

PERHAPS the only anecdote Herbert Read tells in ANARCHY AND ORDER is how many years ago he found himself seated, at a rather formal dinner, next to a well-known Conservative lady. To use his own words:

> A determined lady—she at once asked me what my politics were, and on my replying "I am an anarchist," she cried, "How absurd!" and did not address a single word to me during the whole meal. I was not insulted by this behaviour, and reflected that after all "the politics of the absurd" was a fairly accurate description of my beliefs.

The lady in question, if still alive, might now condescend to talk at a dinner table to the still anarchistic but more celebrated man who (for such is the exquisite absurdity of English life!) must be formally known as *Sir* Herbert Read.

In these reprinted essays Herbert Read puts forward his well-known attitude to politics and the arts, insofar as artistic work has a political base. For him, anarchism simply means a society without an *arkhos* or ruler. He argues that it does not pre-suppose a society without law and order. Herbert Read believes that only when society is broken up into small autonomous groups can we expect the greatest good, not merely of the greatest number but the greatest good for all men and women. He argues that since power corrupts there ought not to be professional politicians; that is, men ought not to devote their whole energy to furthering personal careers in politics.

If one should retort that anarchism—which I have somewhat sketchily summarised—would be impractical or Utopian, Read would answer that precisely the same objection was made to other doctrines (Communism, for example) which today, rightly or wrongly, guide the policies of some of the major nations.

★

Herbert Read considers that anarchism implies a society at peace. "I do not accept war," he writes, "I consider it is an insult to the life of reason, and that it is cruel and senseless and wholly evil in its effects." He is personal in his approach to war, for the First World War, in which he won the MC and DSO, was his greatest formative experience. In all honesty he states, nevertheless, that "some of the most aggressive and egotistical people I know are active pacifists." Conversely, he says that some of the gentlest and most sensitive men he has met were regular soldiers. A good talking point for pacifist groups.

It is impossible in a short review to do more than indicate Herbert Read's main lines of approach in these political essays. One of the most imaginative and acute minds of our time, everything he says needs to be thought about carefully. Herbert Read is a full man, an intellectual who never becomes pompous, a poet whose heart and intellect are not at war with each other.

Mr. Aldridge's "empty view" is the Arabian desert. In his novel, HEROES OF THE EMPTY VIEW, the central figure is Gordon—a latter-day T. E. Lawrence, even down to the motor-cycle—who leads an Arab revolt which ends in failure and Gordon's forced return to England. Back home, bewildered and unable to fit himself into the contemporary scene, he renews an old relationship with Tess. This Tess, who came originally from a Glasgow slum and worked her way through Cambridge, believes in the coming power and glory of the proletariat. She is, in short, a somewhat idealised Communist, self-reliant and strong in the faith that "history" is on the side of the working-class.

James Aldridge has written a Marxist novel and therein lies its weakness, for it is neither a novel proper nor a polemic. He introduces one pacifist character, the hero's brother, who says at one point—"pacifism is the only decent moral faith for the world as it is." But Gordon will have none of it. When he maintains that pacifism is "unreal, unhuman and unhistorical," one really hears the voice of Mr. Aldridge. There is a terrible note of finality in that word "unhistorical."

Mr. Tom Clarke, former editor of the News Chronicle and an authority of the life and times of Lord Northcliffe (he wrote MY NORTHCLIFFE DIARY) tells in LIVING HAPPILY WITH A "HEART" how he coped with a heart attack, a coronary thrombosis. It is a brave account that may be of help to those who are faced with serious illness of whatever kind.

Letters to the Editor

The "L" Bomb

AS we go through the alphabet concerned with the A, the H and now the possibility of the C-bomb, let us not forget the fearful "L" bomb which has killed, maimed, starved and embittered millions of God's children throughout the ages and which every year claims its uncounted victims from the forward and backward countries.

The L Bomb is comprised of "land hunger" and "land-lordism" words which appear repeatedly in the columns of Peace News. In the last two issues we have read: "*All land is owned by big landowners and there are no small holdings. Land hunger in the great continent of Africa is gigantic.*"—Gunter Kopf, writing from Algeria: "*There can be no freedom from political strife and racial controversies so long as the cancer of imperialism remains, with the appalling fact of land hungr*"—Reginald Reynolds on Kenya: "*Social conflict between landlords and peasants.*"—J. Henry Lloyd, writing on Korea.

The L-Bomb may be rendered harmless by removing its detonator the private appropriation of the economic rent of land; it may be beaten into ploughshares by making available to the people of each country the rent of land which is created by their presence and activities.

This should be the first principle of the new movement for Colonial Freedom.

P. R. STUBBINGS.

388 Finchley Rd.,
N.W.2.

Appeal to Britain

PERHAPS you British people can have more effect on Mr. Dulles than I, especially if your Government could help bring independance to Indo-China.

I think that our Government would not be so foolhardy as to try to go to war alone in Indo-China and, if Great Britain uses more cold thinking and restraint, another Korea or World War III might be prevented.

EDWIN CARRUTHERS, Director.
Congregational and Evangelical Reformed Student Centre,
Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, USA.

The Party should be split

THANK you for repeating what I have been saying for many years past, that for the sake of humanity and peace, the Labour Party must be split.

So long as the Party remains under present leadership, there can be no genuine opposition to the immoral policy of the Government.

Most of the troubles from which we are now suffering are due to the Labour Government of 1945-51, which was the most bloodthirsty government of our time. It gave us five wars in five years, the largest armament plan in our history and two years' conscription for our youth.

The supporters of those policies proved more Tory than the Tories: they should go to their own place.

Churchill and Eden are capable of making some sort of a stand against American terrorism: Attlee and Morrison have shown themselves completely servile.

F. O'HANLON.

Worthing.

Conscripts and Indo-China

WHEREAS the French conscript is protected by law against being sent out to Indo-China or to any other colonial war, his British opposite number enjoys no such protection.

A British national serviceman could be sent on active service to a French colony, but a French national serviceman can decide for himself whether to volunteer for such service or not.

Our National Servicemen should not be forced to commit a breach of discipline to avoid the obvious iniquity of being forced to take part in a war which may seem to them unjust.

EDGAR YOUNG, Chairman,
Ex-Service Movement for Peace,
76 Upper Berkeley St., W.1.

Our war news

MAY I congratulate you for your splendid issue of April 30.

I suggest that you change the name of your paper to "War and Peace News," war in large print, peace in small print. I am fully aware that your aim is peace, but from time to time it is necessary for you to print news that really comes under the name of war, such as the article entitled "The Slow Death from Bikini," and Hiroshima by Jack Woddis (April 30).

EDWARD GEE.

7 Daisy Rd.,
South Woodford, E.18.

FSU and children's holidays

AMONG the families assisted by Family Service Units are many children who know few of the joys of childhood and of good home life. From birth they are surrounded by squalor and neglect. The Units are assisting their parents to regain self-respect and decent conditions but this is a slow process and in the meantime something constructive must be done for the children.

It is the children who suffer most and in the summer we do all in our power to get as many as possible away for a holiday. A good time anywhere with somebody prepared to take a little time and trouble is a holiday for one of these children. The countryside or seaside is better still. We make the arrangements for travelling, etc., and see that the child is clean and properly clothed.

Can any of your readers help in this way or find a friend who can?

DAVID JONES.

159 Westbourne Grove,
London, W.11.

ALEX COMFORT

● From page four

ing already. If it once passes into our acceptance we have lost our chance of survival.

I have tried to give you what I believe to be a valid assessment of the psychological effects and causes of the hydrogen bomb. If the action which I am recommending is political, when I say that we must every one of us apply the maximum pressure upon the Government to express our revulsion from this weapon, and our rejection of it, I can only say that I think it is also good psychotherapy, for ourselves and for them.

It has been urged that the leaders of the powers meet to negotiate. I believe that the leaders of powers only negotiate effectively with the muzzle of public opinion in their ribs, and the fists of public opinion banging on the door of the conference room.

To express our hatred and aggression against a policy of barbarity is not a neurotic response but a good and healthy thing, a kind of psychiatric spring-clean. It is something that Britain clogged with apologies which no-one believes, needs today. I believe if we get it we could save the world and ourselves.

Hospitality Wanted

800 beds for young people coming to the

ASSEMBLY OF BRITISH YOUTH

May 29/30th

Can you help with bed, camp bed etc?

Send in offers to British Youth Festival Committee

9, Camden High Street, N.W.1.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday May 16
Studio, 29 Addison Ave., London W.11
(Near Holland Park Stn.)
Discourse by Hugh Brock, Chairman PPU.

WANTED

International Peace-Monitors to write peace-toned Letters to Editor to large circulation, almost pro-war newspapers in USA and other nations. Please send information about your peace activities to US Committee Against Militarisation, 6329 S May St., Chicago 21, Ill., USA.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, May 14

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Conf. on Disarmament. Sybil Morrison, Prof. G. O. Jones. Croydon Cncl. of Peace Groups.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.; Royal Assembly Hall, Athenaeum Place. Michael Foot, MP, "Shall we Re-arm Germany?" Chair: Noel Priestley. PPU, FoR, WILPF, Plymouth Peace Council.

Saturday, May 15

LONDON, N.10: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Church Cres., Muswell Hill. International Bazaar in aid of Friends Service Council. Come and buy. Tea 1s. SoF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Gathering to meet George Houser, of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, chairman American Cttee. on Africa, etc. Chair, Tom Wardle. Tea 4.30 p.m. Please notify Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, if attending. Peace News.

PORTSMOUTH: 7 p.m.; Speakers' corner, Southsea Front. Pacifist Open-air Mtg. PPU and FoR speakers. FoR.

WYTHENSHAWE: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Wythenshawe Rd., Northenden. Area Mtg. 4.30 p.m. Fred Barton, "My Recent Visit to Russia." PPU.

Saturday–Sunday, May 15–16

ULLSWATER: Waterfoot Guest Ho., Pooley Bdge., Ullswater, nr. Penrith. Weekend School. Stuart Morris, "Neutrality as a policy in the present world situation." PPU Lakeland Area. Details from John Bullough, "The Orchard," Grange-over-Sands, Lancs.

Sunday, May 16

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Hugh Brock, Chairman, PPU. PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.C.1: 10.30 a.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. AGM of Labour Peace Fellowship. LPF.

Monday, May 17

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m.; Church Ho. G. Andom, "Social and Political Problems of Nigeria." PPU.

Tuesday, May 18

LONDON, N.W.1: 7 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Pacifism and the H-bomb." Public Mtg. Speakers: Donald Soper, Vera Brittain, Kathleen Lonsdale, James Hudson, MP. Chair: Sybil Morrison. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

MANCHESTER: 1–2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, May 19

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Study of Orchard Lea Papers led by J. J. O'Connor. PPU.

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR, PPU.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 42 Bowness Ave. Discussion on the Third Camp. PPU.

Thursday, May 20

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Peter Hart. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Non-violence Commission. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Friday, May 21

DURHAM: 8.15 p.m.; Lounge of the Union Society, Palace Green. Reg. Sorensen, MP, "Foundations of Peace." Durham College FoR.

Saturday, May 22

ILFORD: 2–9.30 p.m.; Objective Peace Campaign. Poster parade, Open-air mtg., Peace Exhibition, Buffet and Brains Trust in Friends Ho., from 4 p.m. (corner of Albert and Cleveland Rds.). Non-violent Resistance Group, Pacifist Youth Action Group and Ilford PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3–5 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Religion and the Child." Mrs. Lyn Harris. Tea 4 p.m. (6d.). Education Commission PPU. Please notify Jone Burgess, 9 West St., Hertford.

Tuesday, May 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. John Barclay, "Max Plowman as I knew him." PPU.

Thursday, May 27

HAMPSTEAD: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., 120 Heath St. John Barclay, "My Visit to Jugoslavia." with Film. PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Friday, May 28

LONDON, N.10: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Muswell Hill. Fenner Brockway, MP, and James Avery Joyce. LPF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Work Mtg., Central London Gp. PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: **Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.**

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

BRITISH SONG and Folk Dance Festival Competition on May 15 (all day). Audience 1s. Shoreditch Town Hall. Square Dance, 7–10.30 p.m. Donald McBain and Band. Admission 2s. 6d. Details (BYFC) British Youth Festival Cttee, 9 Camden High St., N.W.1.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

REGINALD THOMPSON ("Cry Korea") on the Far East. Public mtg. Monday, May 17, at 5.45 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd., N.W.1. Admission Free.

SERVICE FOR PEOPLES OF ALL FAITHS: King's Weigh House Church, Duke St, Oxford St., W.1. May 19, at 7.30. Preacher: Canon Edward Carpenter, of Westminster. Participating religious leaders: Dr. S. Abdullah, Mr. Maung Maung Ji, Rabbi Salzberger, Dr. Albert Belden, Rev. Arthur Peacock. Further details World Congress of Faiths, Parliament Mansions, Abbey Orchard St., S.W.1.

TRAFALGAR SQ., May 23. (See displayed advertisement, back page). Stewards urgently needed. Please write or phone No Conscription Council. TER 3910. (10.30–12.30.)

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ELIJAH COMING before Christ. World's only hope for peace. Wonderful book free. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 7, Rochester, NY, USA.

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EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

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The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employment, is excepted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube Finsbury Pk.

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LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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ECONOMY LABELS 5½" x 4½" publicising Peace News; excellent envelope savers, 1s. 9d. 100; 16s. 1,000, post free. Sample on request. Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

HOLIDAYS

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. "The Briars," Crich, Matlock. Vegetarian Guest House. Happy country holidays in a friendly atmosphere. Modern comforts. Ronald and Marguerite Heymans. Tel.: Ambergate 44.

FRANCES E. MORGAN, formerly of Columbine Guest Cottage, Uckfield, Sussex, can receive guests for short periods at her flat overlooking sea (3 mins.), at: 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards-on-Sea. Tel.: Hastings 5711. Vegetarian, of course.

FRESHWATER BAY, IoW, Dimbola. 1954 Brochure ready. Special terms April/May. Write S. Stoner. Phone 421.

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EMRYS HUGHES

Britain's role at Geneva

SILENCE IS NOT ENOUGH

IT is the first time that the Chinese Communists have been officially present at a big international conference and it is difficult to see, now that they have sat in the same room as the British, American and French official delegations at Geneva, how they can possibly be denied their rightful place at UNO.

For nobody at Geneva, not even Mr. Foster Dulles, has pretended that the real representative of China today is Chiang Kai-shek.

And the presence of the Chinese at Geneva and the fact that the Geneva Conference is really a clash of policies and ideologies between the Communist and the non-Communist world makes it a significant landmark and may be a turning point in the history of international politics.

What has emerged quite clearly is that America has become almost isolated and has to face up to the fact that soon all Asia may be united against her. That not only applies to China but to India and Japan, too.

The day when the white invader, whether British, American, Dutch or French, could regard himself as the conqueror and exploiter of Asia is over.

Bluff is being called

In spite of her air force, atom bombs, H-bombs, mighty navy and material wealth America, face to face with situations like those which now exist in Korea and Indo-China, can do next to nothing about it but threaten and bluff, and is now beginning to realise that the bluff is being called.

All the power of the USA and of the nations that were persuaded to follow her into the war in Korea did not achieve military victory there (The result was stalemate with ruined Korea as a liability to America and her allies who realise quite well that once their armies are withdrawn Korea will go Communist or something like it).

So, in spite of all the huge sums we have spent on rearmament, we are not in a position to dictate to the Chinese or North Koreans or Russians in Geneva in 1954—the year in which we were going to be in a position to argue from superior strength.

Then there is Indo-China. At the very moment when the conference has been meeting, the French Army has been subject to a humiliating military defeat.

This is not a very hopeful prelude to the idea that the time has come for a South East Asian NATO agreement, which in effect would be an anti-Communist alliance in that part of the world.

The British Government's refusal to take on any military commitments in Indo-China certainly raised our prestige in Geneva. It put the brake on American adventurism and was a wise decision at a critical moment.

Sir Winston Churchill's friendly references to Russia at the Primrose League Meeting at the Albert Hall were duly noted at Geneva, and I found both among Russians and Chinese appreciation of the fact that both Churchill and Eden were doing their utmost to act as mediators and to prevent the world being hurled into another war.

We must exercise the utmost pressure on the British Government to see that it continues this policy for it will be undoubtedly subject to heavy pressure from the other side of the Atlantic.

There is no doubt that public opinion in Britain is overwhelmingly against our being involved in any more commitments likely to involve us in war in Asia. India is not going to be drawn into the American camp in Asia and why should we?

Why did Britain wait?

We should be solidly behind Mr. Nehru in the courageous stand he is taking.

But why did the British Government give the impression of sitting on the fence for the first fortnight at Geneva? Why did Mr. Eden remain silent for a whole fortnight? Had the British Government not something positive to say? Why was there no constructive lead?

Why should Mr. Eden have left it to Mr. Nehru to say from afar the sort of thing that Britain should have said at Geneva ?

"Brain of Britain" in non-violence quiz

THE winner of the BBC's popular quiz contest "Ask me another," D. Martin Dakin, is to be asked a few more questions in Ilford on May 22—this time about the H-bomb.

He is taking part in an "Any Questions Session" in the Ilford Friends Meeting House at 7 pm; part of an intensive one-day campaign organised by the Non-violent Resistance Group.

Earlier the group will have staged a poster parade at 2 pm, and open-air meeting at 3 pm at Roding St., Ilford Lane, near the Broadway, and a Peace Exhibition and Buffet open from 4 pm to 7 pm in the Friends Meeting House prior to the Any Questions session there.

The pacifists have a good deal of local support for their campaign which centres around Britain's plans to make the H-bomb. An Ilford Councillor, George Caunt, is to chair their open-air meeting and several thousand leaflets will be distributed from door to door announcing the campaign.

The leaflet "calls to the conscience of the British people to give a downright 'No' to modern war, which cannot defend our country, our honour, or our way of life. . . Let your MP know that you don't wish to be defended by civilian massacre."

Those willing to distribute leaflets are asked to meet at Ilford Station by Burney's fashion show case at 6.30 on Wednesday, May 19.

Programme of the days activity may be had from 79 Lordship Park, N.16.

The Labour Peace Fellowship's first annual meeting will be held at 10.30 a.m. at 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1 on Sunday, May 16. A draft constitution for the Fellowship will be presented by the Executive Committee.

LORD DARWEN

the danger of mass destruction so long as it is presented as an inescapable condition of our time, a kind of disease which it is hoped will not flare up and prove fatal. The only nurse, poor dear, is Civil Defence, who, though she has no means of curing the disease or even coping with it, is retained to reassure the patient.

The Coventry Council has refused to lend a hand in hoodwinking its citizens. It has taken a courageous practical step towards creating a situation in which the Government will be obliged to review a foreign policy which relies upon such horrible weapons as the hydrogen bomb.

The cornerstone of this policy is our alliance with America, and it is not too much to say that Britain is fast becoming a catspaw, expendable in that Nation's fight against Communism.

If the very existence of Britain is to be

● *From page one*

jeopardised let it be at her own behest, and for reasons of which we, her children, can be proud. But what a poor spirit we show in acting as if national suicide were the only alternative the British way of life can offer to Communism! Nevertheless that is precisely the role for which we are cast if "massive retaliation in places of our own choosing" is accepted by this country as the only answer to the spread of Communism.

The other answer is to have done with the death or dishonour thesis. Return to a moral view of the plight of the world.

If others will go with us so much the better, if not we must take unilateral action.

Disarm and show the world that the people of this country are prepared to rely on moral strength to maintain their belief in the sanctity of human life and a creative moral purpose in the world.

We cannot defend our beliefs by methods which violate them. *(Copyright)*

SYBIL MORRISON

THE BOND OF FEAR

> *Fear, in its proper place, can serve to heighten the perceptions and quicken the emotions. It is a bond that can link men together in a brotherhood that will outlast all other bonds . . . . This is one of the things that we can learn from War, and it brings home the creed of the fighting men—that War is not really such an evil thing at all. How can it be evil if, in it, one lives more abundantly, and experiences a deeper sense of the meaning of life? . . . . as War appears to be inevitable in this life, it is more important to keep it the good thing it is, than to win or lose it.*
>
> —NINE RIVERS FROM JORDAN, by Denis Johnston (Verschoyle).

DENIS JOHNSTON, from whose book I have taken my quotation, served as a BBC correspondent throughout World War II in the desert, Italy, and with the Americans in Germany, and has seen the war, so to speak, from the field, though he also delivered a commentary on a bomber raid from a bomber taking part in the raid.

His belief that much good can come out of the shared fears, the emotions and comradeships of war is one that is held by many, and it is one that makes the adventure of war far more appealing to the majority, than any of the great adventures of Peace.

Only a handful of men can climb Everest, struggle through the Polar wastes to the Poles, sail across oceans in rafts and small yachts, or plunge into the jungle swamps of the earth's interior; in war millions of men can find in this close bond of fear, this emotional companionship of patriotic fortitude, the adventure for which they instinctively crave.

It is of course true that in war there are, as well as deeds of the utmost savagery and brutality, countless acts of heroism, self-sacrifice and endurance ; but it is a questionable deduction to argue from that fact that war itself must, therefore, be good.

To say that war cannot be evil because human beings taking part in it are not themselves evil, is much the same as saying that because there is undoubtedly honour among thieves, robbery itself is an honourable calling.

In Belsen and Dachau there were people who survived to tell of the dreadful conditions and the bestial treatment, and who also told of the fortitude and courage and the selfless sacrifices of those who nursed the sick and protected the young. Because amidst the horror there were saintlike deeds it surely cannot be argued that therefore concentration camps themselves are good? Evil cannot be condoned and called good because the human beings involved in it are brave, and kind to each other.

War has in it all that is basically evil ; it excuses violence, justifies killing, treachery and lies, and pardons the slaughter of the innocents. No argument on earth can refute this obvious truth.

★

In the unreal shelter life lived by many during the raids on cities in the second world war, there was a genuine comradeship among mothers of extremely different types, who brought their children night after night, and struggled homewards in the grim dawns, sometimes to a home that had become a heap of rubble.

Undoubtedly their shared fears drew them together, overcoming differences in a way that would have been impossible in any other circumstances. But after some dreadful disaster, when a shelter itself was blasted to bits: men, women and children, swept away in a rush of invading waters, buried under tons of earth and stone, and torn to pieces with bursting splinters of steel ; there was not then any "creed of the fighting men" to declare that war was "not such an evil thing at all."

It is in retrospect only that people recall, with a queer, unreasoning nostalgia, the good comradeship, and kindly tolerance of shared anguish, and make themselves believe that because of that almost unbelievably good fellowship, war itself is the basic good that gave it birth.

This is in fact, a terrifying non-sequitur, an emotional irrelevancy. The fundamental good in all these fine deeds lies in the human beings themselves, who have so often transcended their environment, not in the evil thing which draws them together. That good can emerge even in the hell of Belsen, and the horror of Hiroshima, is because it it is basic in the soul of man, and must prevail.

SCIENCE FOR PEACE

✷ From page three

buildings, attributed this largely to the squandering of our financial resources in "paying for the last war and preparing for the next one."

About 1,000 scientists, said **Prof. Bernal,** are now employed by the Government on atomic weapon projects. Examination of the social implications involved has become impossible or dangerous.

Resolutions were passed urging the British Government to take the initiative in calling together the leaders of USA, USSR and Britain to obtain agreement to stop development of nuclear weapons ; to further expansion of work on industrial and social utilisation of atomic energy ; and hoping that the entry of Russia into UNESCO will lead to additional facilities for the free exchange of students, scientists and literature between the two countries.

Come and meet

GEORGE HOUSER

of American Fellowship of Reconciliation, Congress of Racial Equality, American Committee on Africa etc.

Friends International Centre

32 Tavistock Square, London W.C.1

SATURDAY, MAY 15 at 3 p.m.

Tea 4.30 p.m.

Chairman : Tom Wardle.

Organised by Peace News

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

NEW EUROPE GROUP LECTURES on "East and West":

Mr. S. K. Shastri, "India's role in world affairs" (an Interpretation of a Tradition): Friday, May 21 : Swedenborg Hall, Barter St., Bloomsbury Sq., W.C.1 : 7.30 p.m.

Non-violence-not H-bombs

One-day campaign in

ILFORD

Friends' Meeting House

(Corner of Albert and Cleveland Roads)

Saturday, May 22

2 p.m., **Poster Parade** assembles outside Meeting House.

3 p.m., **Open-air Meeting** at Roden St., Ilford Lane, Ilford Broadway. **Chairman: Councillor George Caunt.**

4 p.m., **Peace Exhibition, Bookstall, Buffet.**

7 p.m., **Any Questions** session opened by Tom Wardle. Question Master: Rev. Sidney Russell. Panel includes: "The "**Brain of Britain**"—D. Martin Dakin.

Come and join us when and how you can.

Buses 25, 25a, 26, 86a, 129, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150, 167, 298, 663, 691, 693, 695. Green Line 721 and 722, all to Ilford Broadway. E.R. Trains from Liverpool St. (15 mins.).

Non-violent Resistance Group, Pacifist Youth Action Group, Ilford Peace Pledge Union. Offers of help for leaflet distribution and poster parading to NVR, 79 Lordship Park, N.16.

THE H-BOMB

Personal Report from Japan

Speakers :

Mrs. CATHERINE WILLIAMSON

Secy., Christian Peace Group

Mr. ALFRED TUCKER

Canterbury Quaker

Both just returned from Japanese Pacifist Conference

Rev. JACK BOGGIS, MA

Chair : Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS

MAY 24 7.30 p.m.

CONWAY HALL, W.C.1

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The Conscript and the H-Bomb

MASS RALLY

Trafalgar Square

3 p.m. SUNDAY MAY 23

V. YATES M.P. Dr. A. D. BELDEN

and others

Make this London's biggest Peace Rally since 1945!

Organised by : No Conscription Council
Crestfield Street, W.C.1.

American Friends Institute

MAKING SUMMER PLANS?

Attend the 2nd AVON INSTITUTE: "Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs." Avon, Conn. June 13-20, 1954.

Quaker Leaders: Harrop Freeman, A. J. Muste, Clarence Pickett, Alexander Purdy, Ira Reid. Overseas Guests: Claude Bourdet, Editor *L'Observateur*; B. K. Gupta, Representative Praja Socialist Party of India in US; others.

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